

# "WHY NOT SCRAPE BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES?" ASKS SAM BLYTHE

## THEY ARE DEAD AS DOORNAIS, SAYS WELL-KNOWN WRITER

By SAMUEL G. BLYTHE.

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If you are interested in the whereabouts of the Republican Party as a political entity you will find it in the political morgue. If, as may happen, you are similarly concerned over the Democratic Party you will find that in the same morgue. Two are rigidly disposed on adjoining slabs. They are dead as smelts, as door nails, as herring, as Herod, as Nebuchadnezzar, as Neoptolemus. They are very dead. It is true enough that you will find something that claims to represent Republicanism operating at Washington and elsewhere, and something that claims to represent Democracy. They are ghosts, wraiths, without original form and substance, without original character, original charter or original conviction. There are no genuine issues between them, no authentic differences of policy or performance. There is nothing between them save the desire of the Republicans, who are in power, to stay in power, and the desire of the Democrats; who are out of power, to get back in power. The Republicans are opportunists.

The Democrats are obstructionists. If positions were shifted the designations would shift also. Neither side has anything more than self-seeking membership. **MERE LABELS.**

The party term Republican isn't definite any more. It isn't even descriptive. No more so is the party term Democratic. They are labels on empty bottles, signs on untenanted houses, cloaks that cover but do not conceal the skeleton beneath them. No man who is in this Government as a Republican gets any credit for his party-day reason for calling himself a Republican. All can and will give historical, sentimental, sectional, hereditary reasons, but not one of them can prove to a young chap just coming twenty-one why he is for his benefit or the benefit of the country to join the Republican party in premises that have application to existing civic, economic or governmental condition.

For can any Democrat, either in or out of the Government, the only reason there is for being either a Republican or a Democrat in this year 1922 is the reason of past performances. That isn't much of a reason, but it is the best there is. As recently as twenty-five years ago it meant something to be a Republican. It meant that those who wore that label were protectionists, and stood for the single gold standard, for example. It meant to be a Democrat that you held to the policy of tariff for revenue only, and that you were either for free silver or for gold. Take these two outstanding issues of a quarter of a century ago, and you can see how they now are reasons for Democracy or Republicanism. They are purely historical. The tariff is no longer an issue. It is a process, and an academic one at that.

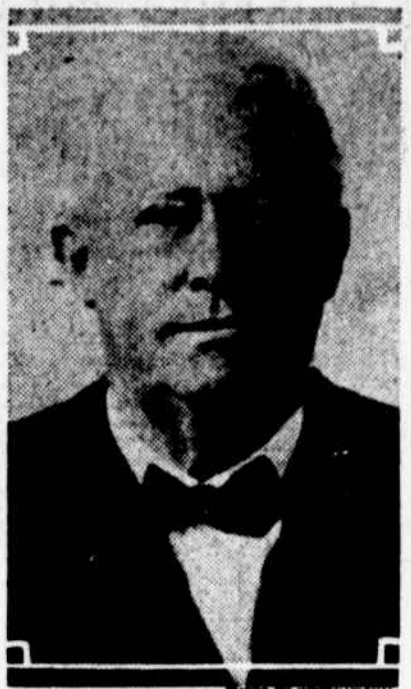
Now the present groups of politicians follow each other into power they tinker with the tariff more as a rite than anything else, and get about the same results, because of the certain fixed and necessary position of the tariff producer, the tariff now occupies in our political economy. Let any politician or number of them try to make a live and burning issue of the tariff as it was in 1888, and in 1892, and in 1896, and see what would happen. The public would yawn their heads off, and pay no more attention to the effort than they would to a new recital of the Crime of '73. And the gold standard is so ignominiously established that all the fuss over it in 1896 and 1900 seems fantastic now.

**NO ISSUES.** Earnest partisans may say that the issue that is most concretely set forth by an acceptance or a rejection of the League of Nations plan is a real point at issue between the two phantoms of parties that now exist, but that is not susceptible of proof. They will and do claim that the election of 1920 was contested on that point.

Now there is some justice to the claim that the election of 1920 was contested professionally on that issue—professionally but not popularly. The campaign managers insisted that the participation of the United States, or the nonparticipation, in foreign affairs was at stake; a transcendental and tremendous issue, they said. The partisan press trumpeted that, and the partisan orators clamored it. They got out tons of literature on the subject, and spent a great deal more money than they had, or have yet, to make the people believe that this was the high and holy, or the low and debased, motive for going to the polls and casting a fearless ballot for one or the other of the candidates.

Now, however, they said, meant a continuation of our historic, Washingtonian, revered policy of no entangling foreign alliances; and a vote for Cox meant that America is to take her rightful place in the affairs of the universe. That sounded well, but the facts are that not one-tenth of the people who voted for Harding voted for him with any clear idea in mind of what participation or nonparticipation means or entails, and with small concern either way; and most of the people who voted for Cox voted for him because they were constitutionally and congenitally

### GRANT'S SON



U. S. GRANT, JR., Of San Diego, Cal., is son of the famous Civil War general, the centenary of whose birth will be celebrated this month.

proved the Democratic party to be a minority, and a moribund minority at that. All there is to a political party is the adherence of a number of the people to that party's profession of principles, and a political party ceases to be a party and becomes a peg when it cannot retain its membership at a vital time. Nominal Democrats by tens of thousands voted for Harding. No party ties were strong enough to hold them. Without doubt, unless there is a new party alignment and if our major political operations continue under these moldy labels nominal Republicans by tens of thousands will vote against Harding in 1924.

### TWO RELICS ONLY.

This is bound to happen in our present political situation. Instead of two great parties, each standing definitely and firmly for certain sets of political and governmental principles, we have two relics of great parties that stood thus firmly and definitely in past times, but are now mere political instruments, mere pegs on which the people hang whatever protest they have to make, flocking from one to the other as elections come, and voting under whichever symbol means election for those in power, not with any thought of consideration of what governmental, political or administrative policy that symbol designates in a party way, but simply with the idea of turning one set of officeholders out and turning another set of officeholders in in the hope that things may get better, and with the conviction that they couldn't be worse.

On the one side are the shredded remnants of the Republican party, and on the other the desolated debris of the Democratic party, and neither has a legitimate, present-day, vital, concrete claim on the suffrages of the people. They are of the past. Their claims are historical, not current. Moreover, sharply as they have differed in the past, both as to policies and as to performance, they differ now only in labels. The white label on the green bottle signifies Republicanism. The green label on the white bottle signifies Democracy. And there is nothing in one bottle that is not in the other, and not much in either.

### BIG ISSUES WANTING.

There are no outstanding issues between them. With the Republican party in power Republicanism means nothing but Republican opportunism in administration, and with the Democrats in power Democracy means Democratic opportunism. The majority proposes, and the minority opposes, not because of any principle involved, but because the proposition having been made by one side is fought by the other. Both sides are constantly to whatever popular breeze may be blowing, and both sides respond instantly and obsequiously to whatever organized demand may be made.

There you have the nubbin of it, both from the outside and the inside—organization. When the great political parties, which by the theory of our Government should be the paramount organizations existing under that Government, began to decline and lose authority and power and respect because of the inefficiencies of the politicians and their lack of appreciation of the meanings of events and the currents of popular thought, certain of the people finding that no good could be obtained through action of these political parties, tried the expedient of action on their own.

Knowing that all politicians are cowards, that all politics is compromise and conciliation, and that all government in a party-governed country has for its first aim and end retention of power by the majority—knowing these things and that political power is obtained and retained solely by votes, and that certain people hit upon the plan of influencing government as they desired it to be influenced by making demands on those in authority and backing those demands by threats of the use of their organized voting power against those in authority unless their demands were granted.

### PEOPLE BAD THIRD.

The individual comes first in party politics, the party second, and the people a bad third. When we had courageous individuals in politics we had a semblance of the principal causes of the decay of the individual did not stand up under this organized pressure, which, sporadic and casual at first, became calculated and scientific; and right there you have one of the principal causes of the decay in our party systems, and right now you have one of the principal results of it in the existing and anomalous political situation in which this country is today. The ability of the politicians who have capitulated to the demands of organized pressure, and on the or-

ganizers of that pressure who have taken the special-interest view of national affairs and not the general-interest view. It runs back to the special-interest view, and it leaves a large proportion of the people of the United States disastrously disposed between shrewd, selfish and sinister oligarchy on one side and cowardly and non-representative mental democracy on the other.

The character and processes of a nation must be judged by the government of that nation, because the fundamental of nationality is government. The true government is representative of everything the nation has, and especially representative of its people; and from that standard government grades off to that which is representative of merely a few of its people, or of the special interests within its borders. True government is directed and sustained by the free play of public opinion. This Government—ours—a party government, so-called, is sustained and is directed by the free play of public opinion. It is managed, directed, legislated for and conducted in response to specifically organized and controlled and coerced opinion, enforced by organization, that make their own narrow appeal, and compel their special demands.

### The Agricultural Bloc.

Not so long ago Senator William S. Kenyon, of Iowa, since transformed into a Federal judge by President Harding for whatever reasons may be, said: "The United States is overorganized, and at the expense of public opinion. The safety of this country lies in a consensus of judgment among its people. We are drifting toward a condition in which it is impossible to get this consensus when every industry and every avocation is closely and effectively organized."

Always conservative, the Senator said "drifting" rather than "have drifted," but deeming it unwise or inexpedient to try to stem the tide, to retard the drift, the Senator thereupon stepped back to prove he knew what he was talking about, and organized the agricultural bloc in the United States Senate, concerning which, if you should ask that personification of both its operations and objectives, you would learn this: Among all our organizations for the purpose of obtaining specific legislative and political ends there exists no organization of any kind or of any industry closer to more effective than this organization, not only of the avocation and industry or agrarian politics, but of the vocation thereof as well.

### EFFECTS PLAINLY SEEN.

If you are seeking for an exact and explicit example of the effects of organization on government, look no further than the agricultural bloc will furnish that example. It is a perfect pattern of a closely and effectively organized special interest operating on a legislative body, a flawless specimen of the kind of organization of the two great political parties has brought about. It is made up of Republicans and Democrats who, seeing and knowing the futility of party membership and party observance, have joined together in a common cause, and by the use of party policy have a weak expediency by the majority and a noisy obstructionism by the minority, and unable to operate as desired inside party lines, have joined together and operate outside and for special ends.

In its ways it typifies what happened in the 1920 election: Born of protest, party ties do not bind, and the extra-party vote that elected Harding so overwhelming. It is a natural outcome of present political condition. The United States Senate has been subjected so many times to the organized organizations during the past twenty years and the utmost expertness was to be expected when insiders went at the business of coercion themselves.

### PARTY POLITICS.

The theory that former practice of party politics are that the party organization, the administrative body, elected by the people, is the instrument whereby the policies, beliefs, wants and principles of the party membership are put into governmental effect. The party organization is the executive head of the party, the director of its membership. It is that body of voters, in all parts of the country, who hold certain policies and principles, either loosely or firmly, and look to the party organization to maintain them. Party decay began the moment when the party organization ceases to be popularly representative and politically paramount and allows its actions and decisions to be controlled, swayed or expressed by any influence save the majority opinion of the bulk of the party membership.

Party control of government means, fundamentally, not only the direction of governmental administration but the selection of governmental administrators and the rewards of governmental perquisites and prerogatives. These have always been the objects of active politics, and so long as the great party organizations maintained policies of Republicanism for Republicans and Democracy for Democrats, with heed to public rather than to private rewards and desires, the great parties continued as definite and vital bodies.

### AN OLD BATTLE CRY.

"The much condemned battle cry," "To the victors belong the spoils," is not without merit as a cohesive party influence, whatever the ethics of such spoliation may be. While there were militant and national Republicanism carried out by militant Republicans, the Republican party was a compact fighting organization, and so was the Democracy in similar sense. When these parties ceased to be nationally representative and began to be specially representative they began to wane. Notwithstanding the fact that all political parties in the United States have always been subject to organized pressure of one sort or another, operating from the outside or from within, and always have been extremely susceptible to the wishes of the class-voting potentialities, such as the racial vote, the soldier vote, the labor vote and so on, the organized pressure of race representatives, professional farmer politicians, professional sol-

### Sinners Called Less Crude Now Than Yesterday

CHICAGO, April 1.

"PUBLIC morals are at a lower ebb today than they were fifteen years ago, when restricted vice was tolerated," said Philip Yarrow, of the Illinois Vigilance Association.

"Immorality is less crude today, and, more refined, it is less obvious and more suggestive; less repulsive and more inviting; less confined to groups and localities and more diffused through the general population."

dier politicians and professional labor organizations enforce demands—the further fact is that these have been more or less national in scope.

The real beginnings of the era of special-interest domination in party politics were laid in the tariff days of twenty-five years ago, when we saw special combinations of wool men and machinery men, and so on, each concerned with protection of tariff or revenue as a national policy, but with one personal angle thereof.

### ORGANIZED INTERESTS.

We saw numerous bodies of interested citizens, each with some special advantage in view, utilizing every sort of influence on the political organizations and their law-making constituents, and not their successes. We saw the manipulation of Schedule K, the combinations for this specific purpose and for that, and had long noted the difficulties that any measure with none but a widely diffused and popular support encountered when it came to the ease with which a measure of specific appeal, backed in a specific manner, slid through to statutory form. The American people know a good thing when they see it. Straightaway, when any section of them had any demand or desire, they organized to make that demand and desire effective. Straightaway, also, when any section of the American people had any impractical demand or any section of the people had any impractical demand, they organized to make that demand effective.

We all took leaves from the books of the Schedule K fellows and the high financial fellows and organized. The result is the vast number of organizations of all kinds, of the character of the national in scope, some sectional, some local, some economic, some commercial, some sociological, some religious, some reformatory, some racial—there are hundreds of them—that get or try to get, special political action by organized pressure on the political parties. I say special political action because all governmental actions are political and must be so under our system of party government. The political party in power runs the Government, and runs it politically.

Modification of existing political systems, and especially the wide extension of the principle of direct nomination, brought into public life as party representatives a class of men far more susceptible to this organization pressure than those who were selected under the old convention systems, for the reason that a man who must make his appeal for nomination to the public is far more sensitive to what any section of the public may demand than the man who gets his nomination from a party organization.

The special-interest organizations batten on the direct-from-the-people official. They claim to be the people. Therefore, the old party discipline and responsibility begins to fall of fecundity, and the result is that the organizations that demanded special action did not operate within either party, but held over the heads of the politicians the menace of a solidly organized vote to be turned for or against, together with other inducements that have political strength and sustenance. So far as their own demands are concerned most organizations of this sort are fearfully self-minded. They want what they want, and want it as a unit, or make it appear they do. If they do not get it they are not bound by party ties when it comes to making reprisals.

### VOTING UNDER PRESSURE.

Take the two greatest accomplishments of organization and agitation of late years—women suffrage and prohibition. Notwithstanding disclaimers, the real actuation for the voters in the Congress for the subordination of these constitutional amendments to the people were political reasons—the same in each instance. There is no doubt that at the time the amendments were passed Congress by the requisite votes that gave them submission to the Legislatures of the States, there was not a required majority in Congress actually in favor of them, and there were those who were required majority each time politically in favor of them, and the reason there were such majorities is that, behind the demand of the organizations, was the menace of political opposition to all those who did not vote as demanded.

The parties, as such, did not want to make these policies party policies. They had to. And by so doing they advanced the organization because they opened the way wider than ever before to the outer organized pressures now operating on them.

If we had real, representative, vital political parties in this country, both prohibition and suffrage would have been party policies, because when parties are real and vital all such subjects are party matters inasmuch as they are of great concern to all people and are brought about, or defeated, only by the operation of machinery that is entirely political in nature—the Congress and the Legislature. Neither prohibition or suffrage was any sudden demand, and they were better for the people for years, and for years both parties

ducked and side-stepped and begged to be excused. Then, as the parties began to bow down under all sorts of organized pressure, and organized prohibition pressure became stronger and more effective, instead of one party saying "We are for them" and the other party saying "We are against them," and thus making it a clean-cut fight, both parties have become the mere instruments of expediency they now are, ran to cover and the members and leaders thereof in necessary legislative places, and with one another to give the women their due and to make the country dry. The suffragists and the prohibitionists always said their movements were non-partisan, but the parties, afraid of what might happen in case there was open opposition, made them bipartisan. Outside organization made cowards of them both.

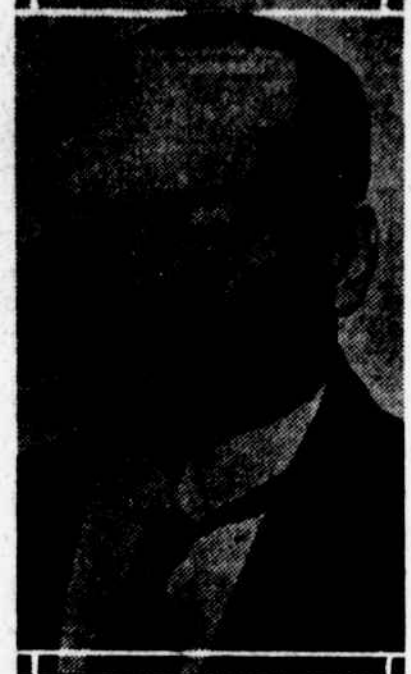
This system of organized pressure on party politics, and on the official representatives of party politics, has not only made the once great parties of the country the temporizing, shift, opportunist and cowardly bodies they now are, but it has also turned loose on the defenseless people such a flood of legislation and laws as the world never saw before. Observing how easy it is to influence Congress or any other legislative body and all Federal and State executives and administrators by organized pressure, that pressure has been exerted for all sorts of fantastic purposes.

There is a certain section of our public that holds the view that all social, moral, economic and civic ills may be cured by legislation. It is Section One of the articles of belief of this great portion of the people that the way to reform us, regenerate us, replenish us, reimburse us for losses due to our own ineptitudes, make us happy, moral, healthy, prosperous and powerful is to pass laws directing that these desirable ends shall be attained forthwith and providing strict penalties for remissness in these various matters.

### EFFECT OF LEGISLATION.

The poor are getting poorer. Pass a law about it. The rich are getting richer. Pass a law about it. Our morals are not what they should be; our death rate is too high, and the birth rate too low; some children have the rickets; the women use too much rouge; Europeans are selling in markets, for their wheat; the movies are stupid, immoral, too exciting or not exciting enough; some folks believe in socialism; skirts are too short; there should be a new calendar; the oyster crop is a failure; every man should have a job whether he deserves it or not; hours of work are too long or not long enough; money is hard to get; babies have the croup; cigarettes are instruments of sin and destruction; the stage caters to the box office; bathing suits are too scanty—the list is interminable, and the laws that come flooding from our legislative

### STRONG MAN



The first photograph to reach this country of his excellency Liang Shin Yi, the new premier of the Chinese republic. He is said to be the strongest man politically of present day China.

bodies are grotesque as they are incredibly numerous.

Apparently it is needed to get any sort of law passed in to make an organization that shall favor that law. Congress and the legislatures meekly and humbly and obsequiously do the rest. There is no party solidarity to resist it. There is nothing but a lot of opportunist politicians, each with an eye on the home district and regardless of any national need, rushing to do the bidding of any who come along and say: "If you do not do this we will be against you at the next election." If we had real, operating national parties, instead of the hulks of parties we have now, this would be stopped; but it never will be stopped while party designations are merely labels instead of responsibilities, and party leadership is expedient instead of explicit.

### BUREAUCRACY RUN WILD.

This weakness and opportunism of party control of government and the vast number of special-interest organizations it has fostered and the vast flood of unnecessary and often foolish laws it has produced have created still another situation that is directly the outcome of the decay of the two great parties. That situation is the alarming expansion of Federal authority over the lives, habits, customs, employ-

ments—over all activities and activities of American citizens. When any organization of citizens, wanting any reform, supervising direction or demand of any phase of American life or endeavor to be set forth in law according to the theories or fanaticalisms or prejudices of that organization of citizens, proceeds to operate on our superior sensible and Federal laws and get their law—as they mostly do—the provision is made that the law shall be enforced by the Federal Government.

Every little body of citizens who have a grievance or a theory or a reform or a scheme comes running to the Federal Government for relief. With two strong parties in our Government, one in majority and the other in intelligent opposition, these little meddlers and amateur Messiahs would be packed back where they came from; but not with our present party system. They are feared and coddled, and their laws are passed.

The result of this party weakness and decay is that the growth of bureaucracy in the United States in the past twenty years has come to such proportions that it already makes almost negligible our boasted system of free institutions, free speech and free play of public opinion, and has put on the American people a burden of government, meddling, inefficient, spying, costly and unnecessary, that is intolerable, and is the direct outcome of the present political situation.

Senator Stanley of Kentucky, in speaking of this phase of our present condition, recently said: "Every business man finds an inspector at his elbow and a Federal sleuth at his heels. \* \* \* Nobody escapes. Everything in the moral, industrial and commercial world is to be owned, operated, supervised or censored, from the birth of a baby to the burial of a corpse, and the worst is not yet."

Senator Stanley is a Democrat, but there is plenty of Republican testimony to the same effect. In his recent report to the trustees of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, a conspicuous Republican, in referring to the proposed bureau for the supervision of education—there is a strong organization to bring that about, by the way—said: "The United States we are, in flat defiance of all our proclaimed principles, building a series of bureaucracies that will put to shame the best efforts of the government of the Czar of all the Russias when in the heyday of its glory. We are surrounded by agents, special agents, inspectors and spies, and the people are called upon to support, through their taxes, in harmful and un-American activities, whole armies of individuals who should be engaged in productive industry."

### TOO MUCH LAWMAKING.

John W. H. Chm, Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, in speaking of this phase of our governmental and hence our political affairs at Albany, N. Y. (Continued on Page 8, Column 13)

## Rub Away Children's Colds

Let them breathe in healing vapors all night

A "vapor lamp in salve form," Vicks is the DIRECT treatment for all cold troubles. Absorbed, like a liniment, and at the same time, inhaled as a vapor, the medication reaches immediately the congested air passages.

Kiddies do take cold so easily! A change of weather—or just getting the feet wet—frequently starts them sniffing.

Some little ones go from one cold to another—never have a chance to build up any strength.

A mistake to keep them indoors

And so, the fear of recurring colds leads many mothers to keep their children too much indoors.

This is a mistake. Children kept too warm are most apt to take cold.

There is nothing like fresh air play to harden little folk, so that they do not take cold so easily.

The mother's problem

It is best, therefore, to let children run outside in all weathers.

Of course, some colds will result.

The problem has been how to treat these colds without constant internal dosing—so disturbing to their delicate stomachs.

Vicks answers this need

Vicks VapoRub, the invention of a North Carolina druggist, offers the solution.

Applied externally, it can be used as freely and as often as desired, without any harmful effect.

And use of Vicks at night does not require shutting the windows. Just leave the bed-coverings loose about the child's neck and the rising vapors will be inhaled all night.

And just as good for cold troubles of grown-ups—bronchitis, catarrh, asthma, laryngitis, pharyngitis.

Doubly a direct action

Vicks works immediately and directly in affections of the air passages.

Like a liniment, it is absorbed thru and stimulates the skin. This relieves soreness, loosens phlegm and eases difficult breathing.

Like a vapor lamp, the application over the throat and chest sends up healing vapors, which are inhaled with each breath directly into the congested, inflamed air passages.

Invented by a Southern druggist

Some years ago, Lunsford Richardson, a druggist of Greensboro, N. C.,

was seeking a better way to treat cold troubles.

He found how to combine the best of nature's remedies for colds into salve form.

Camphor, Menthol, Eucalyptus, Thyme, Turpentine and other volatile ingredients are so mixed in this salve that their vapors are imprisoned until application brings contact with the natural heat of the body.

Then these ingredients are released in the form of vapors, given off evenly, freely and thoroughly for hours after application.

Ingredients of great antiquity

Some of Vicks ingredients have been tested by use for many generations past.



For instance, Menthol is a derivative of the Oil of Peppermint, which was produced in Egypt 3000 years ago, and is mentioned in the Icelandic medical books of the Thirteenth Century.

Several of the ingredients of Vicks—Camphor, Menthol, Eucalyptus, Thyme, Oil of Turpentine—are given credit in the United States Dispensatory, our highest authority on drugs and their actions, for the very effects that are most desired in all kinds of cold troubles.

How Vicks should be used

For Spasmodic Croup, Children's Colds—Rub Vicks over the throat and chest until the difficult breathing is relieved, then spread on thickly and cover with a hot flannel cloth. One application at bed time usually prevents a night attack of croup.

For Deep Chest Colds, Sore Throat, Croup, Bronchitis, Coughs—Vicks should be rubbed over the throat and chest—if necessary, first using hot, wet cloths to open the pores of the skin—then rubbed in well until the skin is red; spread on thickly and covered with one or two thicknesses of hot flannel cloths. If the cough is annoying, a small piece the size of a pea can be swallowed every few hours.

For Head Colds, Asthma, Catarrh, Hay Fever—Vicks should be melted in a spoon and the vapors inhaled, or a little can be applied up the nostrils and snuffed up the head.

Vapors Important

Remember that half the effect of Vicks is in the inhalation of its vapors. So when applied over throat and chest leave bed-coverings and night clothing loose so that these vapors can be inhaled.

Three Sizes—35c, 75c, \$1.50

Over 17 Million Jars Used Yearly

VICKS VAPORUB the DIRECT treatment